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EMPLOYMENT FOR THE MILLION;

OR,

EMIGRATION & COLONIZATION

ON A

NATIONAL OR EXTENDED SCALE,

THE REMEDY

FOR NATIONAL DISTRESS;

IN

A LETTER

ADDRESSED TO

HER MAJESTY'S MINISTERS.

BY

JOHN CRAWFORD, ESQ.

"Something must be done."

What Sir Robert Peel says.

Nothing IS done.

What every Body says.

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EMPLOYMENT FOR THE MILLION.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, and the Right
Hon. Sir ROBERT PEEL, Sir JAMES GRAHAM, LORD
STANLEY, and the other Members of Her Majesty's
Government.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

Notwithstanding all that has been said on the subject, both within and without the walls of Parliament, and its being admitted on all hands that "Something must be done," still *nothing* whatever is done for the relief of the thousands and tens of thousands of our unemployed and suffering fellow countrymen in all districts of the country, agricultural as well as manufacturing.

Can nothing be suggested by our legislators and politicians, but Chartism, or Repeal of the Corn Laws? or by our philanthropists but National and Local Subscriptions, Relief Committees, and Soup Kitchens—Charity Balls and Concerts, and fashionable Bazaars, as modes of relief for national distress?

It is a mighty evil when able bodied men become dependent on the rich for support. Laboring men are the real wealth of a state, and the supporters of the rich; and it indicates a perverted and most anomalous state of things when eleemosynary aid, either in the shape of Poor Law Unions, or otherwise, has to be resorted to to keep them from starving. When a single individual is reduced to the sad necessity of going about from day to day "seeking of his brother worm for leave to toil, and asking that boon in vain," there is not a more melancholy sight under the sun, but when whole communities are thrown out of employment and reduced to this abject condition, it calls for the greatest effort on the part of the Government to provide a remedy for such a lamentable state of things.

Is it wise to say the Government of this great country can do nothing but administer palliatives in so extreme a case as now exists?

What is the evil? Want of employment—want of those two great and indispensable things in civilized society, work and wages. And what can this be ascribed to but to the rapid increase of population, at the rate of from 800 to 1000 *per diem*, while the field of employment is not widened in proportion, owing to the application of machinery, whereby manual labor in almost every department of

manufacturing industry, is daily superseded, and to the limited nature of our insular territory, and the throwing of small farms into large ones, and the consequently forced emigration of our rural population into large towns. Neither is the circulating medium of the country, which is the very soul of industry, extended in proportion to the increase of population; on the contrary it is curtailed: and while the aggregate of manufactures may be augmented, and the riches of the country positively increased, the increase is not in the ratio of the population:—the riches in reference to the whole population are accumulating in fewer hands, and the mass are becoming wretched *lazzaroni*, and the mere tools and slaves of the overgrown monied men and capitalists. Actually their condition is worse than slaves, for to be a poor man in England, out of employment, is to be a vagrant, and to be treated as a criminal, and forced into a prison workhouse.

The great anxiety of some politicians seems to be to cultivate trade with our Continental neighbours. But so long as we have millions of our fellow countrymen without work and wages, we are neglecting our home market, which, with reference to population, is infinitely more valuable than any foreign trade can be, liable as it always is to derangement from war, and other circumstances not under our control. Without employment, or with only the scanty allowances of paupers, our own people can never be consumers, which, as Britons and members of a community possessing such powers of production both of food and raiment, they ought to be. There is no want of food, literally speaking, in the land, or of the power of raising and producing food. What is wanted is employment, or work and wages, terms however which are synonymous with food.

Suppose the duty on the importation of foreign corn wholly removed, and that we received annually ten millions worth of grain, which in place of paying in gold we paid in goods; why, this would not be a fortnight's work for our manufacturers and artisans. And how would this change set to work the starving agricultural laborers of Kent and Bucks, and almost every county in England, and the two millions of unemployed in Ireland, and the thousands in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland?

The great question is, Is there no *other* way of finding employment for the people?

General Greene, of the United States, at a meeting of the Anti-Corn Law League, held at the Crown and Anchor, on the 9th inst., asked what was the reason the people of the United States were not reduced to the deplorable state the working population of Great Britain were in, although they had financial derangements, and bank failures, and commercial embarrassment, the same as in this country. Is it, said he, because the United States is a Republic, and Universal Suffrage and Vote by Ballot exist there? Is it because there is no Corn Law? No! but because while Great Britain is an Island, and its territorial extent is limited, and every inch of land owned and occupied and inhabited so densely as 280 to every square mile, the United States have an unlimited extent of back

territory, and have not eight inhabitants to the square mile. And because it is the invariable practice for all who cannot find employment in the large towns, or thickly populated parts of the Union, to emigrate to the back territories, and seek a refuge in the wilderness, and there hew out a home for themselves, and cultivate the wild land, and earn thereby a plentiful subsistence, while at the same time they add to the resources of their country, and extend the empire of civilization. General Greene when he said this, pointed to a map of the United States, which was hung against the wall of the room, and exhorted the unemployed and suffering people of Britain to seek refuge and relief in the forests and prairies of the United States, where plenty and comfort never failed to attend the steps and smile on the industry of the settler. And this argument in favor of Emigration was used at a meeting of the Anti-Corn Law League.

“Labor in Great Britain is a drug—In countries where there is wild and unoccupied land it is *all in all*.” To effect a transference therefore from where it is a drug, to where it is all in all, is the true remedy, it is the remedy which nature points out, and which has been resorted to in all times, and by all nations when they became too full of people. It is the *vis medicatrix naturæ*, far too little attended to by state doctors, as well as doctors of medicine.

But why should the unemployed laborers of Great Britain transfer their industry to the United States? Why should Britain enrich the United States by allowing a rival power to appropriate the best part of her strength?

Has she not her own Colonies? Has she not those noble fields of British Colonization and Emigration—Canada—Australia—the Cape of Good Hope, and New Zealand? Has she not in all and each of these Colonies illimitable quantities of unoccupied fertile land, fit for the comfortable location of every man, woman, and child, of our unemployed population, and only awaiting the hand of labor to be made to teem with every necessary for the sustenance, comfort, and enjoyment of its cultivators.

Land and labor are the elements of all wealth. Great Britain is rich in both, beyond what any country ever was. In this country we have the labor and the skill. In the Colonies we have the land. The two elements are disjoined, and in consequence of their disjunction we are poor. Bring them into combination, and we are rich! What hinders their combination? The cost of passage, or conveyance of the labor to the land? The Government has no money for the purpose! Granted it has no gold in its exchequer, no surplus revenue. Has it however no credit? Land by itself is valueless, but bring labor into contact with it, and it instantly acquires a value. On the faith therefore that the money will be applied in conveying Emigrants to our Colonial Lands, any sum of money may be raised by way of loan. By the Home Government issuing Colonial Land and Emigration Debentures for £100, £500, and £1000, at 5 per cent. interest, the money to be expended for the purposes of Emigration, each Colony guaranteeing repayment of the sums respectively expended for its use from its Colonial Land

sales and General Revenue; one, two, five, or even ten millions if necessary may be raised.

What should hinder this being done. This country when the population, which is the wealth, the *stamen* of the country, was not so great by many millions as it is now, expended above one hundred millions in the year 1814, in war. Recently we did not grudge twenty millions to purchase the emancipation of 800,000 slaves, in the West Indies. And without a single *quid pro quo*, either in the shape of glory or gain, we have contrived some way or other to spend fourteen millions in the war against the Affghans, and this unknown to and without the sanction of Parliament. There is nothing therefore to stand in the way of the money being raised. One million sterling per annum for Emigration might be all that would be required. Canada might get £200,000; Australia £200,000; the Cape of Good Hope and New Zealand £100,000; Van Dieman's Land, Western Australia, and South Australia, so much each; and so much might be advanced to Colonial adventurers in the plantation of new Colonies on sound principles. One million thus expended would convey to and comfortably locate in these Colonies about 100,000 Emigrants every year, at £10 each man, woman, and child. The second year a similar sum might be borrowed and applied as far as found necessary, and something might be allowed to the West India Islands for the free importation from Africa of negro labor.

In a year or two there would be no necessity for any fresh loan, as the Colonies would be repaying what had been advanced, and by these repayments, a constant Emigration fund would be kept up.

Why then should not this principle be adopted and carried into operation as speedily as possible?

If a *warlike* necessity occurred for the expenditure of such a sum it would not be grudged for one instant, and there would not be a moment's hesitation in ordering it to be advanced from the Treasury.

But here in peace we have a state of things, as distressing, every bit, as if war, famine, or pestilence had visited the land. We are *in extremis*—extreme evils require extreme remedies, and though you may not find a precedent for such a course—though there may be nothing in the books, why should you not look into your own minds and from the force of your own convictions, your own sagacity, your own appreciation of the fitness of means to ends, snatch a grace beyond the reach of art—show you are not common place statesmen, and adventure to act independent of precedent, according to the exigencies of the occasion.

Has the Almighty created the vast tracts of fine fertile land in our Colonial possessions to remain uninhabited save by the wild animals of the forest? Has he willed that the dominion of these lands has been assigned to Britain for no end or purpose? Is it consonant with his beneficent purposes that the inhabitants of these Islands shall be cooped up at the rate of 300 to the square mile, and that millions of them notwithstanding all their energy, skill, and perseverance, shall be doomed to idleness, poverty, and

starvation, while it is in the power of the Government of the country to transfer them, and find scope for their exertions and industry in the new and untrodden regions of our Colonial possessions? Is there not in the cry of distress which rings in our ears, and which becomes more piercing every day, a language not to be mistaken? What is it but the cry of the nation in travail, of the hive too full being about to swarm. And as Moses led the Israelites out of the land of Egypt and the house of bondage, so it is the high and peculiar duty to which British statesmen are now called to guide the swarms of their unemployed and distressed fellow countrymen, from their poverty-stricken state here, to safe locations in our Colonies, where their industry will meet with its reward, and they will be enabled to live in something like comfort and enjoyment as men and Britons. The hearts of British statesmen should swell at the contemplation of such a noble task, and should feel that in undertaking it they are co-operating in the fulfilment of what is evidently the design of an all merciful Providence.

Yes! the destiny of Great Britain is to be the instrument, under Divine Providence, of spreading civilization and Christianity, by means of Colonization and the Emigration of her Anglo-Saxon children over the whole globe. The means of effecting this may be seen in her crowded population, and instead of despairing of our country, or imagining that the acme of British prosperity and greatness has been reached—viewed in relation to her Colonies, which have been pronounced integral portions of the Empire, and as a colonizing power, she is but in the infancy of her greatness, and has a long career of prosperity still to run “From the nettle danger, let us pluck the flower safety:” in our unemployed population let us see not unmitigable poverty, but only the real wealth of our country.

Why should not the Government set about this task *immediately*?

The unappropriated waste lands of our Colonies belong to the people of this country, and are held by the Crown in trust for them. These lands are the inheritance of the working men of Britain. And the unemployed working men who are willing to emigrate have a right to insist that these lands shall be administered to the best advantage for their behoof. The best way they can be administered is to raise a fund either by sale or mortgage to defray the cost of their conveyance from this country to these colonial lands. Do not think this too democratic a doctrine to be recognized by a Conservative Ministry. As a Conservative—not a mere partizan, but an upholder of the constitutional doctrines on which Conservatism is based, and believing the present Conservative Administration can only exist by doing substantial good to the people—I am not afraid to give the broadest possible enunciation to the doctrine, and to wish to God that our Anti-Corn Law leaders and Chartist orators would adopt it as a topic of popular agitation, in place of wasting their energies on the barren and unproductive dogmas of their present respective political creeds.

My unemployed fellow townsmen at Paisley—Chartists as they are—had the good sense to discern the vast importance of this

doctrine, and they were the first to give expression to it in a popular form, and to make a demand for its recognition by the Government. I am happy to say the doctrine was acknowledged by the Government, and their demand listened to, inasmuch as the Land and Emigration Commissioners chartered two large ships, the *Duchess of Argyle* and *Jane Gifford*, which were sent round to the Clyde to convey as many of the unemployed as they could carry, to Auckland, the capital of New Zealand, the expense of their passage to be defrayed from the proceeds of land sales there.

About 500 have sailed in these ships; and thus it is by this case established that our poor and unemployed fellow countrymen can be assisted to emigrate to our Colonial possessions, without costing the country one farthing, but out of a fund which is peculiarly and emphatically their own; and the doctrine is confirmed that it is a thousand times more rational and wiser like mode so to assist them, than to sustain them in idleness by means of soup kitchens at home.

My townsmen were the first also to assert publicly these two other great principles in British Colonization: viz.—That the ships of war belonging to the British Navy are the property of the people, and instead of rotting in our harbours, (400 out of 600 being out of commission and lying in dock dismantled) should be employed as emigration ships; and that in addition to being provided in water and provisions during the voyage, the emigrants should receive clothing and an outfit. And although these two great principles have not been recognized as yet, they will ere long.

Of what use is the navy of Great Britain if not for the benefit of the British people, and if our ships are not needed in war, why not employ them in peace in the only and best way they can be employed?

And why not clothe the emigrants? Is not the fund from which the expense is to be paid their own fund? Clothed they must be; and if their own fund is there and admits of it, why resort to public subscriptions, and charitable contributions, and parish funds, and other halting and imperfect modes?

The Emigration of the unemployed should be gone about in the most generous manner. The Colonial Lands are illimitable in extent, and out of the emigration fund, derived from this inexhaustible source, the administrators of it can afford to be generous.

We clothe our soldiers, and our sailors, and our paupers in our Poor Law Unions, and our felons in our jails at the public expense; why not clothe our honest and industrious unemployed fellow countrymen when they go forth, armed not with the sword and musket to murder their fellow men, but with the axe and the spade to subdue the forest, and convert the wilderness into a fruitful field?

Is it possible the expense of Colonization or of Emigration can be grudged? I am afraid this is the case in quarters where it ought not to be. See what a fuss was made about Colonel Gawler's draughts on the Treasury, for the young colony of South Australia. We expend ungrudgingly £70,000 for the comfortable accommodation of Prince Albert's horses and dogs. For the comfortable location and accommodation of 16,000 of our fellow coun-

trymen, we take about eighteen months before we can make up our minds to pay double that sum. Each regiment in the British service costs about £100,000 per annum. Each ship of war in commission about the same, and by the whole expenditure of £15,000,000 on the army, navy, and ordnance, not 200,000 of our fellow subjects are directly maintained. What is the cost of building a first-rate ship of war? More I venture to say than the cost of founding a colony. And yet I affirm the founding of a British Colony is, morally, politically, and commercially speaking, a thousand times of more importance. "Wherever a body of British subjects plant themselves on the shores of our distant Colonies, carrying with them and establishing English laws, language, and institutions, arts and civilization, there Britain erects a new tower along the steep, a new bulwark of her greatness, and takes a fresh guarantee for the sovereignty of the seas."

A Poor Law Union to support men in idleness costs almost as much as a British Colony. The best poor law will be to encourage and promote voluntary Emigration. £5,000,000 annually is the cost of the English Poor Law. The whole cost of the administration of our Colonies is not above £2,500,000. The greater part of the revenue of the country is derived from the duties on the import of Colonial produce. One half of our export trade is with our Colonies. The Continental trade in relation to population is a mere bagatelle. New South Wales, with 130,000 inhabitants, take as many British manufactured goods as Russia with 50,000,000 inhabitants. Three fourths of our shipping trade is employed in trading with our Colonies. It is our Colonial trade which has built up Bristol, Liverpool, Glasgow, and other large shipping ports.

A great many of our legislators look on the advocates of extended Colonization and Emigration as a set of amiable enthusiasts. And they turn away with a supercilious and incredulous look when you solicit their attention to the subject. They are sadly mistaken, however, and only evince their own narrowness of intellect and want of comprehensiveness of view. The reasons and arguments in support of Emigration are overwhelming. Evidence of the most satisfactory and convincing description of the improvement in the circumstances of thousands of poor people who have emigrated, and of the infinitely superior comfort of working men in all our Colonies might be adduced. Instances might be given of thousands who settled in the very heart of the forest, with little or no money, who, assisted by the best of all capital, their own industry and perseverance, applied to a fertile soil, have achieved comfort and independence. By such men, who have settled in Canada, money to a large amount has been remitted home to their poor relatives to assist them in going out, and several large sums besides have been sent home during the last year as subscriptions for the relief of the unemployed. Nothing could more shew the advantages of Emigration, and the necessity and expediency of promoting it to the utmost extent. It is objected, that unless Capital accompany Labour it is of no use sending out labouring emigrants. Now there is as much necessity that capital should seek employment in the Colonies as

labour. Money capital, however, though it may do much cannot do every thing. In England it may be the dominant power, but in a new Colony, with abundance of wild land, Labor is the best capital—it is all in all.

Think of the immediate spur which would be given to our mercantile shipping, which is now languishing so much, (if ships of war cannot be employed) in the event of an extended system of Emigration being adopted. Think of the business created in the provisioning and outfitting department. How many respectable individuals, now idle, would be employed in the work of Emigration. Think of the benefit to the emigrants themselves—of the relief to the labor market at home—of the relief to the landed proprietor from the burden of poor rate to support in idleness the unemployed laborer—of the relief to the rich and charitable from the moral obligation of contributing for the support of their poor brethren, whether appealed to by a letter from the Queen or in any other way—of the freedom from those fears of outbreak and social dissolution, which there is so much reason to dread if relief is not afforded to the masses of unemployed in some way or other betwixt this and the ensuing winter.

A great many benevolent and well-meaning people imagine, when extended Emigration and Colonization is talked of, that it means compulsory banishment of the unemployed—the collecting them in large numbers and shipping them off and landing them pell mell on the shores of our Colonies, and leaving them there to sink or swim, survive or perish, as their fortune may be. But an extended system of Emigration and Colonization implies a well-planned and judiciously conducted Emigration, and has in view the safe and the comfortable location of the emigrants in their new homes, with provision till such time as they can provide for themselves. Such an Emigration was conducted in 1820, when under the administration of Earl Bathurst, as Colonial Minister, 5000 working people from the neighbourhood of Nottingham, and who were in distress from want of employment, were conveyed to the Cape of Good Hope and settled in the district of Albany, where they founded Grahameston—now one of the most flourishing settlements in that district.

What is to hinder the same thing to be done now, but on a larger scale adequate to the greater emergency? Nothing whatever.

Why does my Lord Stanley deprecate an extended Emigration? It is said his Lordship finds himself trammelled by official forms and the routine duties of his office. This is unfortunate. We want not a technical Colonial Minister at this time. We require a man who can leave the hacknied beaten track. Let him not be the mere pupil of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, and Mr. Stephen, the Under-Secretary. Let him call to his aid other men, who, out of office and as private individuals, have done far more for the Colonial interests of Great Britain and for British Colonization, than was ever done by all the Under-Secretaries and Subordinates, or Commissioners, who ever drew official salaries in

Downing-street, or Park-lane, Westminster.* It is said also that Lord Stanley dreads to offend a certain Parliamentary Junto, who fill the direction of the New Zealand Company, who put forth the monstrous pretension that they are the only Colonizers of the day, and are the only fit instrument by means of which Government should carry on Colonization, and who of course are opposed to any system of Emigration on a National Scale.† Is it possible this can be true?

The principle of raising a fund for Emigration purposes, by means of issuing Colonial Land and Emigration Debentures, was first recommended by Colonel Torrens, when he was one of the Commissioners of South Australia. The financial difficulties which befel that Colony might have been avoided had the Colonel's advice been taken in time. His principle has been adopted at last, but not till the Colony has undergone all the evils of insolvency and destruction of public and private credit, and too late to save Colonel Torrens from being sacrificed to the caprice and more powerful political influence of a hostile brother commissioner.

Shall Great Britain, the greatest colonizing power on earth, be behind in the great work of Colonization? Is it not known that Germany is about to adopt the principle of National Emigration on an extended scale, by sending out several thousand Germans to the Brazils—and that about 70,000 Belgians are about to emigrate, and found a new Colony at Rio Janeiro, on the principle of raising a fund secured on the proceeds of Colonial Land Sales? And this is intended for the unemployed people of Germany and Belgium.

* Mr. Wakefield and Mr. Montgomery Martin for instance. Mr. Wakefield not only has the merit of having first taught the principles of deriving a fund for Emigration by selling our waste lands, and of concentration, as he calls it, but which would be better named if called combination or co-operation on the part of emigrants, in contradistinction to individual and desultory and tardy efforts in the work of Colonization—but by him were the whole improvements which have lately taken place in Emigrant ships and the business of Emigration suggested. Single handed too he has within the last six years been the principal founder of two new Colonies, which are now most flourishing, namely South Australia and New Zealand. Mr. Montgomery Martin has labored for more than ten years in diffusing a knowledge of our Colonies amongst the people of Great Britain, and pointing out their vast importance. His Colonial Statistics is a national work of the greatest utility and importance, and deserving of a national reward. His late Majesty personally recommended Mr. Martin for an appointment in the Colonial Office, and he was recommended also by the Marquis of Wellesley in the strongest possible terms to Lord Melbourne, with the same view. But, as is always the case with men in office of inferior minds, the Subordinates in the Colonial department were jealous of a man of greater honesty and ability than themselves, and had the influence to prevent Mr. Martin's appointment. When he founded on his labors in diffusing information respecting the Colonies, they told him they did not want the people to know anything about the Colonies. In fact, the officials in Downing-street and Park-lane, consider the Colonies as created for them alone, and are annoyed if a British subject should presume to take any interest in them, and regard him as an impertinent fellow, on whom they place a mark if he should presume to offer any suggestions for carrying out the business of their department on a larger scale than their limited notions, not extending beyond their desks, will allow them to conceive, and as is demanded by the exigencies of the country and of the Colonies themselves.

† See Mr. Ross D. Mangles's pamphlet entitled "How to Colonize."

Why should not Britain do the same thing for her people? Why not, when she can so much easier do it? Is there a single reason why it should not be adopted as the "something" necessary to be done? Does it interfere with any political interest, Conservative, Whig, or Radical? No! Will it injure or affect any single interest, landed, monied, manufacturing, or commercial? On the contrary, will not its tendency be to promote directly every one of these? Why then not adopt it?

If we do not adopt it, Texas will, and so will the United States; and our countrymen, the very life's blood of the country, will be seduced away from our own Colonies, to cultivate and enrich other lands. Should this be permitted?

We spend millions in erecting bridges and excavating tunnels to connect our counties, separated by rivers. Our Colonies are the uninhabited counties of England. Why should we grudge the expenditure of a million or two or more in bridging the ocean, the noblest of highways, by means of a proper system of voluntary Emigration, whereby all who are ill off and unemployed at home may go and try their fortunes in the Colonies?

It is satisfactory to find that our Public Bodies and Guardians of the Poor are seeing the wisdom of the principle of Emigration. The Relief Committee at Paisley is changed into a Committee to assist the unemployed in that quarter to emigrate, and the Rate Payers at Belfast, at a Public Meeting, at which several excellent and most sensible speeches were delivered, resolved to subscribe two thousand pounds to assist their distressed townsmen to emigrate to Canada next spring.

Lord Stanley would leave the settlement of our Colonies to be the work of private enterprise; the evil of millions of unemployed men cannot be cured by private enterprise. If Emigration is the effectual mode of relief, why should public enterprise by the aid and sanction of Government not be called into play? By whom but by Government can Colonial Land and Emigration Debentures be issued, and the necessary money capital be raised? If Government will advance the means to private enterprise, private enterprise will do it, but not till then. If the public means exist to effect great good, why should any fanciful idea as to private enterprise stand in the way of their adoption, or doom millions to starvation in the meantime?

Since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who took a personal interest in Colonization, the whole of the vast Colonial Empire of Great Britain has grown up. To extend and consolidate that empire is obviously the policy of the Government at the present time, and in no way could the greatness of our Country, or the glory of the reign of our beloved Queen be more promoted or enhanced.

I have the honor to be,

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

Your very obedient humble Servant,

JOHN CRAWFORD.

